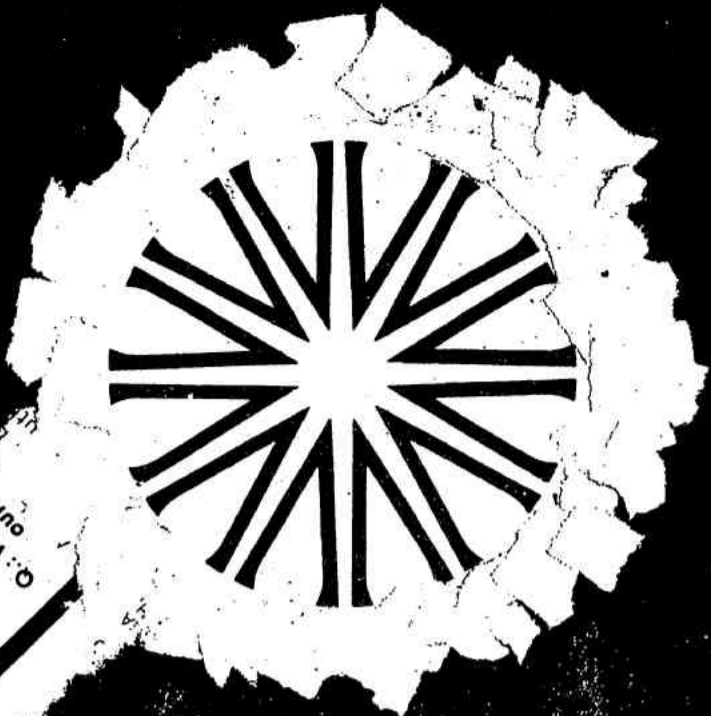
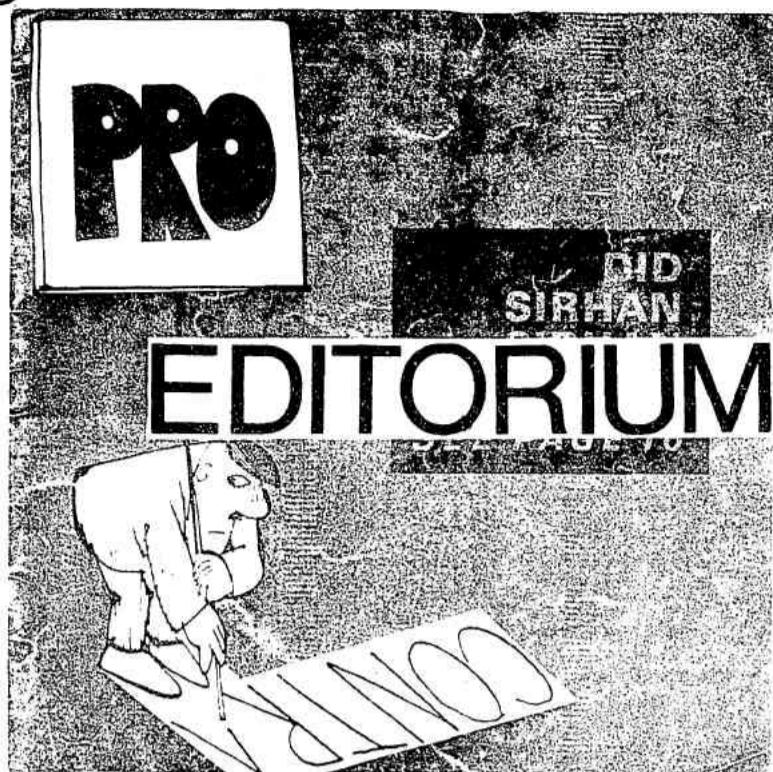


woron1





## north vietnam condemned

Time and time again the anti-Moratorium forces have complained that the Moratorium is pre-occupied with condemned one side. Thus in an article in last week's Woroni, Professor Owen Harries states "Anyone who denounces aggression on principle and simultaneously fails to condemn .. a regime which has .. troops occupying the territory, and attacking the governments of three of its neighbours, stands condemned."

Point taken. Woroni hereby condemns North Vietnam's occupation of parts of Laos and Cambodia and to a lesser extent condemns the North's presence in South Vietnam. But simple condemnation of these actions without full explanation is a denial of any intellectual honesty.

History will certainly show that North Vietnamese violated the Geneva agreements by the deployment of troops in South Vietnam only after extreme aggression by both South Vietnam and the United States. The International Control Commission reports show this extremely plainly. And, it must be remembered, the question of a single Vietnam makes it debatable whether this deployment of troops was invasion or not.

So while the Allies have broken international agreements first, the Allies are the aggressors. And as constituents of these Allies we have a duty to complain about our government's actions foremostly. America and Australia had no right in the first place to be in Vietnam, and their mere presence was violation of international agreement. Therefore the Moratorium is aimed at our own governments.

When North Vietnam retaliated against our aggression we aggressed further — bombing North Vietnam and escalating the war in the South. North Vietnam moved into Laos and Cambodia in the early sixties and stand condemned for so doing. But this must surely be seen as a defensive measure — the occupation was only for maintenance of the supply route to the South and the pressure on the Laotian government itself has been from the Pathet Lao — a Laotian native force.

In Cambodia the North Vietnamese were occupying areas along the Vietnamese border in the Parrot's Beak area where their arms depots were centred. Such occupation is internationally contemptible, but nevertheless is to some extent understandable.

The United States had refused to accept the peace agreements thrashed out so many years ago, and after showing considerable patience (unlike our great ally Israel in the Middle East situation) North Vietnam responded showing some disregard for borders.

Given their earlier and continued aggressive policies the allies had no justification to move into either Laos or Cambodia to remove the North Vietnamese. And in the case of Cambodia this is underlined by the fact that the Cambodian government made no request for allied intervention and the U.S. acted independently of any Cambodian authority.

Yes, Woroni condemns North Vietnam's presence in Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam but realises that while the Allies initiated and continue the aggression, the Moratorium's duty is to condemn first and foremostly their own government. And our own Government's immoral actions must always gain our greatest protest for these actions must finally come down to our own personal responsibility.

## moratorium methods

One of the major condemnations of the Government by the Moratorium is over the Government's illiberality and lack of explanation and justification of policy. The Government have always presented simplistic unintellectual arguments for conscription and the Vietnam commitment, and they have rejected liberal ethics in a crazy search for votes.

But condemnation of such policies are shallow while the Moratorium itself allows unintellectual propaganda to stylise its campaign and refuses liberalism by banning certain would-be participants. The Canberra group did very well to invite Mr. Gordon Bryant to debate the Cambodia issue, and to participate in other Moratorium ventures, unlike groups in Melbourne.

But the Canberra group lowers its credibility with the screening of such clearly biased films such as "In the Year of the Pig" without promoting discussion afterwards. The film was interesting and very clever, but its manner of dismissing the U.S. was particularly unfair and biased and deserved discussion, not blind acceptance.

Similarly, reaction against Woroni's publishing of an anti-Moratorium article last week by certain persons connected with the Moratorium is most unfortunate and one hopes that a more liberal attitude prevails in the future. Certainly the establishment provides a surplus of anti-protest material, but there has been little proper debate on the university campuses, and discussion surely must be the protest movement's greatest asset.

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## A REPLY

Dear Sir,

I was interested to read the article "Closely Guarded Seminars" by Bryan Havenhand in Woroni (1st September) which related to the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre. Unfortunately the article includes a number of inaccurate statements and your readers may like to know the actual position with the Centre, the details of which are freely available to any inquirer.

The Centre is an administrative arrangement which could function without external assistance (and did for a time) simply because existing University staff are associated with it. This has happened with a number of other research units in the University. The sources of its finance have never been concealed. On the contrary, the appropriate figures are as available as the figures for any university activity.

Additional costs of the Centre, such as for maintaining a small reading room of appropriate literature, or paying costs of seminars, are financed from part of the grants from the Ford Foundation to the Research School of Pacific Studies. The Economics Department's Indonesia project, the Contemporary Japan project, the Conference on the Teaching of International Relations, the Contemporary China project and other activities have been financed from the same source. In none of these, so far as I am aware, and certainly not in the S.D.S.C., has the Ford Foundation expressed any interest in specifying the direction of research or the people participating.

Far from spectacular growth, the Centre has been kept quite small. Its staff currently comprises one post-doctoral fellow and half a typist. We are hoping to appoint a new research assistant to keep the research materials in order. Access to these materials is free to anyone in the University, and to outside persons by arrangement.

The Centre has held no "closely-guarded seminars", nor any secret ones. As with most university departments and units, it has occasionally held or been associated with conferences where the attendance was limited, so that discussion could flow freely among people qualified in the field, but on each occasion persons attending have included a wide range of opinion, press have been present,

WORONI, 15 September, 1970 and the proceedings have subsequently been published. Your correspondent may be surprised at the list of those who have given seminars under the Centre's auspices. They include people such as Mr. Lance Barnard, Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, Dr Milton Osborne of Monash University, who has consistently opposed Australia's participation in the Vietnam War, Mr. Robert Cooksey of the School of General Studies at ANU, and Mr Per Anger, the Swedish Ambassador in Canberra. A seminar on Peace research is to be held next week, the speaker being Mr John Groom of University College, London. If Mr Havenhand or anyone else would like to use the Centre's facilities for studies relating to peace, he is entirely welcome to do so. He may be interested to discover that we have a good relationship with the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), and exchange publications with it.

The Centre is a recognized activity of the University, and its academic standards, are, I believe, as high as those of most departments. There is nothing secret about it. Its activities, including publications, are widely known and respected. It welcomes participation from throughout the university. It holds no opinions, and neither has nor seeks access to classified government information. If it did seek such access, it would be refused, under existing government legislation and regulations.

Mr Havenhand has made a number of charges and innuendoes in his article which he has not substantiated, and cannot, because they are incorrect. Any member of the University who would like to see the Centre become like SIPRI, should provide the intellectual input which would help to bring that about. SIPRI, for its part, is most interested in the work of this Centre.

T.B. Millar.

[Bryan Havenhand replies —

It is unfortunate that my article did contain inaccuracies about the Centre. It is also unfortunate that most other articles on the Centre, written by outsiders, are also inaccurate. Yet Dr. Millar says that information about its activities are freely available. Why then, all the inaccuracies. Also my specific example of a 'closely guarded seminar' was completely avoided by a sweeping generalization.]

# WORONI

THE JOURNAL OF THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY  
STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION. NUMBER 18 VOLUME XXII Price 10c.



## URSULA AGAIN

Dear Sir,

As a foundation member of Ursula College, I would point out that Mr. Spratt's last effort in Woroni September 1st confirms my opinion that he is far more intolerant and persistent in his attempts to impose his own feelings and opinions upon others than he purports the authorities of Ursula College to be.

His letter indicates that there should be no facilities to cater for tastes on the campus which are not compatible with his own.

Mr. Spratt's comment that the Ursula Governing Body "takes little account of the needs and freedom students require" is totally unjustified. The students have been told on several occasions that if they want some rule changed all they need do is ask and the matter will be given sympathetic consideration. This they have done and so far no requests for a change of rules has been refused.

Among requests that have been made to the authorities have been for front door keys for all members of the college and an extension of visiting hours so that now the rules of Ursula College are very little different from those of other student residences on campus.

In future I think Mr. Spratt would do well to check his facts and use them in any future attempts at journalism rather than his own bigoted opinion.

Cherylle Miller.

## N.B.

Sir,

As third term examinations approach, I urge students to turn to their bibles where consolation can be derived from Ecclesiastics, 1, 18—

"For in much wisdom is much grief: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow."

Retired Officer, Royal Papuan Camel Corps.

## STUDENT REFOS

Along with the Presidential election voting material at the end of the month, each student will be posted a referendum ballot form.

The referendum is to determine what structure is to replace the existing Students Representative Council, following a motion put to a Students' Association meeting deferring the decision until after a referendum.

There are three options:

- 1) Mark Cunliffe's plan of a committee structure run through general meetings of the Association;
- 2) Michael Wright's plan of a 5-man executive carrying out policy determined through general meetings;
- 3) Virginia Wilkins' plan for no structure at all.

At the general meeting last term Michael Wright's plan was accepted by a clear majority of the students present after Andrew Podger dropped a similar suggestion in favour of Wright's.

Yet Wright's opposition would not accept the general meeting's decision as being final in any way and called for a referendum.

It seems extraordinary that one can have such lengthy and detailed debate at a general meeting of the Students' Association only to have the final decision quashed because some thought that not enough students had bothered to turn up.

In reality of course the referendum is just a last ditch standby those not willing to accept the system of democracy now instituted by the Students' Association which remains in existence under all alternatives in the referendum.

We now have the situation that there is to be a referendum after a clear decision was made by all interested students, and that referendum will only call for distinction between general alternatives meaning that another meeting will later have to be called to consider detailed constitutional changes.

After that meeting which will probably again clearly decide in Michael Wright's favour, the same group as last time will call for another referendum.

Only this next time the referendum will have to be delayed until 1971. Ho hum. Student politics can be as slow and tedious as big-time politics.

## POSTGRAD BLOCKING

In typical hierarchical fashion, the University is building a block of flats for post-graduate students only. Undergraduates keep out.

Following the pattern set with University House and the separated School of General Studies and Research School, a new "postgraduate hall" is fast nearing completion on the corner of Northbourne Avenue and Barry Drive.

Because it is for postgraduate students it has been designed to provide occupants with self contained flats which are centrally heated, fly-screened and carpeted. Each bed-sitting room is fully furnished complete with fridge, sink, shower and toilet. The rent is to be only \$12.00 per week.

But not all postgraduates will be very happy because as there are small ants and bigger ants, there are also small post-graduates and big postgraduates.

And, of course, master's students aren't very big in the postgraduate field. Tough, because these students are unlikely to get places in The new Hall.

The hierarchy in the University goes as follows:

- 1 Administration (including Vice-Chancellor and Registrar etc.)
- 2 Research School Staff
- 3 School of General Studies Staff
- 4 Ph.D. students
- 5 Master's students
- 6 Cleaners, gardeners etc.,
- 7 Undergraduates.

The new hall is specifically for students so the first three groups in the table don't apply. And the demand for the hall is such that it appears that only Ph.D. students will be catered for.

# ABSCHOL TREASURER GAOLED

An ANU student has fallen victim to being honest to his own conscience. Patrick Fulton, the treasurer of ANU Abschol, was gaoled for seven days and fined \$100 plus costs on Friday in the Canberra Court of Petty Sessions.

He had failed to register for National Service in 1968, and was fined \$40 in Melbourne in 1969. Subsequently Pat failed to attend three medical examinations, and prosecution was brought by the Dept. of Labour and National Service on Friday.

For failing to attend medical, he was fined \$100. The representative of the department then made an application that Pat should be required to enter into a recognizance to attend a medical in the future. He refused. The magistrate, after reading in the lawbooks, found that he was bound to sentence Pat to seven days, and proceeded to do so.

When asked for any comments, Pat said that he sincerely regretted breaking the law, but the existence of the war in Vietnam allowed him no choice. The magistrate said that a medical examination was only a small part of the war.

Pat replied that the fact that it was

a part at all made it impossible for him to comply.

The magistrate presumably, did not think about the validity of the National Service Act when passing sentence. It is all too common for public servants to carry out policies of the government with which they strongly disagree. We have no way of knowing whether or not the magistrate thinks that it is right to incarcerate people whose only crime is to refuse to be told to take certain human lives. But magistrates, like many other civil servants, do not let considerations of right and wrong affect them; they are loyal to the State not to their own sense of values. Several magistrates, when judging national service defaulters, have professed a lack of understanding of the defendant's positions, but probably it is very difficult for magistrates and other government servants to appreciate someone who would rather be loyal to his own values of right and wrong than be loyal to the State.

## campus radio still coming

Finally replies have seeped back from Melbourne and Armidale campuses, containing reports of the running and establishing costs of their radio stations. Although we are still waiting on replies from the Australian Broadcasting Control Board, and the P.M.G., the prospects look good for the possible establishment of Radio A.N.U.2 early next year.

Radio U.N.E. (University of New England) has been operating very successfully throughout this year. They were lucky enough to be granted a sizeable amount from their Uni. Admin., and we are so to approach our Admin. with the same thought in mind! They had 5 student technicians build their station, and found one of the most expensive pieces of equipment they had to obtain was a good quality tape recorder costing \$700.00.

Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology radio 3st. is a closed circuit station broadcasting internally through a 600 ohm line to speakers situated at various points on the campus. These outlets include two cafeterias, a student lounge, common rooms and several external speakers. The station during normal term time operates 10 hours per day and programmes consist mainly of pop music and student news presented at a good commercial radio standard.

At A.N.U. it is visualised that we will have to operate on the same systems as radio U.N.E., that is using several low powered transmitters placed near the halls of residence and colleges, and also have speakers situated around the Union and various other points on the campus like radio 3 st. It would be hoped that by operating in this way we would be able to reach the greatest number of people, in the cheapest and most efficient way.

Thus, with this hope in mind, I would like to call upon any people who would be interested in helping establish our campus radio to leave a note or contact me any day at the S.R.C. Office. I am especially interested in gaining the help of any people with some electronic skill, as my knowledge of this field is more than limited.

Patrick Power, Activities Officer, S.R.C.

## MORATORIUM



THURSDAY 17th ... LUNCH TIME ..... LIBRARY LAWN.  
(John Kaputin supported by an A.L.P. cast of thousands).

INSIDE NORTH VIETNAM.  
(made by journalist Felix Greene in 1966)  
HEARTS AND MINDS  
(a montage of cartoon and film by Bruce Petty). 8.00 pm Copland Lecture Theatre

FRIDAY 18th... GRAND PACK-RAPE OF DEMOCRACY!!!  
\* 10.15 am PARLIAMENT HOUSE

(Speakers include Whitlam, Enderby, Calwell).  
For students and others walking from the University to Parliament a March will leave the front of Garran Hall at 9.30 am, move to the Union, and leave for Parliament at 9.45 am sharp.

\* 11 - 11.30 : MARCH LEAVES PARLIAMENT HOUSE FOR GAREMA PLACE

\* 12.30 GAREMA PLACE TEACH-IN  
Featuring : Debate on Cambodia... Gordon Bryant vs. Bruce McFarlane.

## PART TIMERS LOWER FEES

In an exciting (?) meeting last week part-time students were able to obtain a two dollar concession in Sport's Union Fees.

With only about forty students present the part-timers narrowly won their motion with a margin of two votes. The Sports Council rallied against the move but with all-round apathy against them, were just unable to get the numbers.

The motion means that Sports Union fees for part-time students are \$10 pa while full-timers must pay \$12. (Last term the fees went up for all students from \$8 to \$12).

## QUAKER TO SPEAK

The recently appointed Secretary of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Australia, Donald Groom, and his wife Erica, will make their first visit to Canberra next week. They will be here from Tuesday to Thursday, 15 to 17 September.

Mr. Groom will give a public address on "The lesson of Gandhi and Vinoba for today" at the Quaker Meeting House in Turner (corner of Bent and Condamine Streets) on Tuesday evening 15 September at 8 pm.

As first full-time Secretary of the Society of Friends in Australia, Donald Groom has the task of strengthening communications between the groups of Quakers in Australia and between Quakers and other Australians.

Mr. Groom's Quaker service began in Spain in 1938 during the Civil War. He and his wife later served in India from 1940 to 1956, and during those years Donald Groom became closely associated with Mahatma Gandhi. From 1956, for five years, he walked over 5000 miles from village to village with Vinoba Bhave, the follower of Gandhi who conducted the Land Gift movement.

Mr. Groom returned to Britain in 1961. He subsequently made two lecture tours of the United States, acted as Field Secretary of the Friends Peace Committee for four years, and then held office as General Secretary of the National Peace Council. He was one of the original members of the Committee of One Hundred and of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

An experienced lecturer and broadcaster, Mr. Groom appeared in one of BBC Television's programmes on the life of Lord Mountbatten which dealt with Mountbatten and Gandhi.

## AVA

In recent weeks there has been an unprecedented rush of requests from overseas schools seeking Australian university and technical college graduates. The graduates are required to serve as volunteer teachers in New Guinea and the Pacific.

The Director of Australian Volunteers Abroad (AVA), Allen Martin, says the volume of requests is unusually heavy.

"Because insufficient experienced teachers are responding to these requests, it has become necessary to look for increased numbers of recent graduates," Mr Martin said.

"These graduates need to have teaching subjects in their degrees or diplomas, and be willing to teach for one or two years overseas. Persons expecting to complete a course of study at the end of the year would be considered, provided they applied immediately," Mr Martin added.

The selected volunteers will depart for overseas next January after a residential briefing in Melbourne. Their fares and basic insurance will be provided and local employers will provide sufficient allowances to cover food, accommodation and pocket money.

Mr. Martin said the rush for graduates seemed to point to a new trend. In the past the host countries had generally only accepted experienced AVA teachers.

"Possibly the increased demand could be caused by changing needs and by the extra efforts being put into preparation

## A WHOLE LAND

I see your hands once more, Tinh, as  
you planted rice  
under water. The quick hands vanish  
only the fine green tips break surface.  
Like the rice, under water, I am  
sowing my years  
and only the future of a whole land  
will return to the surface.

*These poems were found  
on the bodies of Vietnamese,  
and brought to Saigon by  
the Americans.*

## THE ROAD TO BIEN HOA

Many times I have come and gone  
on the road that leads to Bien Hoa.  
I have known the dragon and the  
lizard  
on the road that leads to Bien Hoa.  
Knives rifles boots rice blood  
tins meat fruit vegetables tea  
ammunition mortars bombs and  
women's laughter  
all come and go again on the road  
that leads to Bien Hoa.  
Many days again they will pass to  
and fro  
when the clear and treacherous  
morning has crept up on us.  
Suns moons new seasons and the  
shoots of bamboo  
disfigured children and our own dead  
bodies,  
black tides, white tides, oil and alcohol  
drifting and eddying around Bien Hoa.  
Until the great monsoon of our people  
blows at last along the road to Bien Hoa

Anonymous

## THE SEASONS

The sky holds a myriad burgeoning  
silver buds  
in store for us, in this new season of  
liquid fire and phosphorus.  
A rain against nature will shrivel  
leaves and grass  
again, and my peasant's eyes  
see only still-born flowers  
in white fields of death.  
What hailstones the sky has in store  
for us,  
oh my people, what a seedtime lies  
behind us.

Anonymous  
(Body found in the Ben Cat district,  
Province of Thu Dau Mot, by Sgt  
Chaip, February 4, 1966.

I walk in the deep darkness of night  
on roads bearing the weight of fear  
I see little children, lost  
crying pitifully — a life without light  
their father, killed - their mother, dying  
night has fallen down - where to go?  
I see grotesque human remains  
burnt to the bones by napalm  
smashed to pieces by modern weapons  
invention of science, of progress, of  
civilization  
I walk past heaps of smouldering ash  
cottages of love and warmth in the old  
village  
I walk past abandoned fields red with  
blood  
where green rice plants used to grow  
I walk in the deep darkness of night  
on and on without seeing the dawn.

Nguyen Dien.

A poem of love I try to write for you  
without falling bombs and flying bullets  
without desolation and destruction  
only with tender thoughts of love

I have seen so many deaths  
love passing out of the reach of my hand  
a mother's lullaby so sad in the cold wind  
a first letter written with bitter tears in  
my eyes.

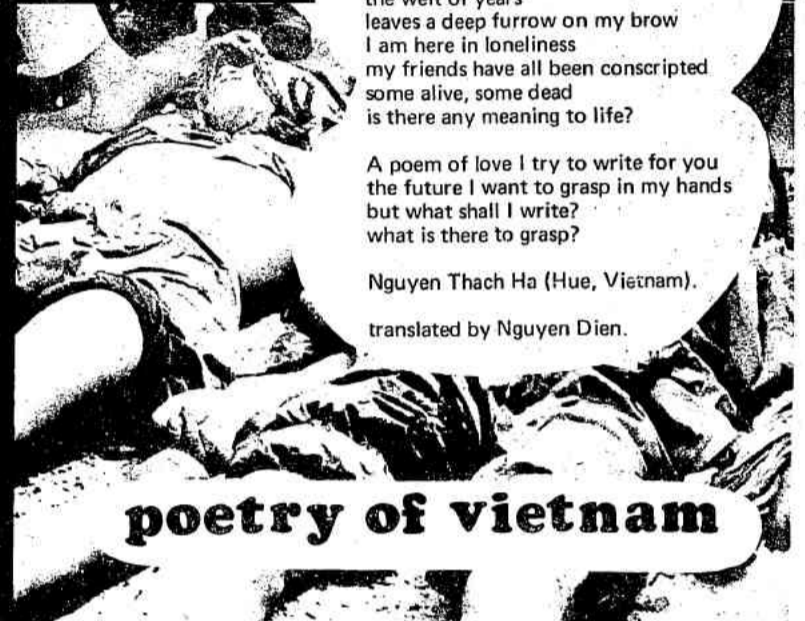
What is left of love?  
only words strung together  
lifelessly on a piece of paper  
the lullaby has stopped  
my head is bursting with bomb explosions

the welt of years  
leaves a deep furrow on my brow  
I am here in loneliness  
my friends have all been conscripted  
some alive, some dead  
is there any meaning to life?

A poem of love I try to write for you  
the future I want to grasp in my hands  
but what shall I write?  
what is there to grasp?

Nguyen Thach Ha (Hue, Vietnam).

translated by Nguyen Dien.



poetry of vietnam

# cambodian programme for liberation

Following are major portions of the political programme of the National United Front (NUF) of Cambodia, led by Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodian head of state and NUF chairman and Penn Nouth, Cambodian Prime Minister and chairman of the political bureau of the NUF's central committee.

The programme was issued in response to Sihanouk's call on March 23, 1970, to fight to overthrow the government of Lon Nol, established as a result of a coup d'etat on March 18.

**Uniting the People**

For the purpose of fighting the American imperialists and their satellites in Indo-China, the following tasks must be accomplished:-

.....Unite and mobilize all social classes and strata, all political parties, all professional or religious organizations, all patriotic personages either at home or abroad, irrespective of their political opinion, sex and religious belief, so as to safeguard Cambodia's national independence, peace, neutrality, and territorial integrity within her present frontiers.  
.....Those people who for various reasons cannot as yet join the NUF but oppose the American imperialists and their flunkys can coordinate their efforts with those of the NUF and they will also be welcomed with understanding by the NUF.  
.....As the American aggression against Cambodia is a component of the plan for the expansion of the war which the US is losing in South Vietnam and Laos, the NUF coordinates its struggle with that of the peoples of Vietnam and Laos. But the liberation and defence of each country are the affairs of its own people.

.....Create and strengthen the National Liberation Army,

.....Severely punish those guilty of crimes against the people, but show leniency of those who have sincerely repented.

.....The wounded and the prisoners of war will be looked after and treated humanely.

**Struggle for Democratic Rights**

The NUF declares that "power is, and will always be, in the hands of the progressive, industrious and genuine working people who will ensure our motherland a bright future on the basis of social justice, equality and fraternity among all the Khmers."

The democratization of Cambodian society is being carried out in the liberated zone at present and will be carried out in the whole country later in the following ways:

.....Guarantee to all Cambodians, except traitors known to the country, the freedom of vote, the freedom of standing for election, and civil liberties.

.....Guarantee effective equality to both sexes, strive to wipe out backward traditions discriminating against women. Abolish polygamy.

.....Buddhism is and will remain the state religion. But the NUF recognizes and guarantees the freedom of all other religions and beliefs.

.....See to it that the rights and interests of the minority nationalities are respected.

**Economic Policy**

.....Abolishing profiteering, smuggling, blackmarketeering and inhuman exploitation of the people.

.....Protecting and guaranteeing rights of ownership of land and property.

.....Confiscating the land and property of traitors, and distributing it among the needy peasants.

.....Guaranteeing to the peasants the rights of ownership of the land they cultivate.

.....Encouraging the formation of trade unions.

.....Developing industrialization.

.....Encouraging the national bourgeoisie to set up enterprises beneficial to the people in conformity with the laws concerning wage-earners.

**Education and Culture**

.....Developing the good traditions of the Angkor civilization.

.....Gradual Khmerization of the curricula for the different stages of education, including higher education. Adoption of the national language as the sole official language in the public services.

.....Research into Cambodia's national history which is often distorted by foreign authors. Inclusion of national history in the educational programmes.

.....Continuous and free education through school terms. Development of pre-school education, nurseries & kindergartens, pre-school classes.

.....An extensive political, civic and cultural education among the people and youth. This should be carried out at all levels, in the public services, factories, shops, in the capital, provinces, and villages.

**Foreign Policy**

.....neutrality and non-alignment. No military alliances; no foreign military bases.

.....solidarity with Laos and Vietnam, in the common struggle against US imperialism. Emphasis upon the national integrity of each of these countries.

.....full support for the struggle of the peoples of the world against old and new colonialism in all its forms.

"The Khmer people under the leadership of the NUF are prepared to make all sacrifices to win final victory over the American imperialists and their lackey, the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak clique, for the present struggle is decisive to the freedom and dignity of our future generations and is essential to the independence, freedom and progress of the peoples of Indochina and the rest of the world."



**lew fried:**

**AN  
ANGRY  
ESSAY**

This is not an essay about the implications of violence; this is not a study about the growth of radicals; I have not written a meditation upon the disruption of a once-quiet and largely unknown state university. Instead, this is a series of notes, hammered out in despair and frustration.

Until three days ago, I taught American literature to seemingly dull and apathetic kids, the kind that populate state colleges that suddenly grow into vast universities. Everything has now changed, and no one at Kent, I think, will ever be the same. Black flags dangle from cars; students have mourning bands twisted around their arms; the roads seem to have vomited up National Guardsmen. At night, choppers, searchlights in their bellies, fly at tree-top level, following wanderers across lots and fields. In the day, armored carriers, jeeps, and soldiers come into town. Before yesterday noon, the phones were out, newspapers scarce, and rumors everywhere. For instance, darkness would bring sniper fire; the Weathermen were holed up in a building on campus; Kent was going to be invaded by revolutionaries from Younstown. Instead, it was quiet. People stayed in their houses watching television; the traffic down Route 43 was thin, and the shock of murder had not yet set in.

Today, there is only bewilderment. This is a document of rage. It is a polemic, for my students have been killed. Their murder goes beyond the destruction of individual souls; their slaying cannot be explained by merely saying that on May fourth, harried and frightened National Guardsmen dropped to their knees, raised their rifles, and fired point-blank into a crowd of confused kids. And if we argue that a rehash of chronology (the riots on Friday night, the calling of the Guard, the burning of the R.O.T.C. building, the massacre on campus) leads to anything, we will have to admit that it forces upon us one inescapable conclusion. Kent State University was the final term in an equation of stupidity.

The nation will not accept, President Nixon argued, "humiliation and defeat" and so, the war that was brought to Cambodia came to Kent. The real humiliation and defeat happened; the dispossessed were defeated, the young were humiliated. The students made De Tocqueville's *aperçu* prophetic; the kids reminded us that Brecht's aesthetics made damned good politics, for the Peachums who formerly lived in rotting warehouses, and gathered around the waterfronts, paying off their obligations in funny money and cement buckets, have come into their own. The children (and let us be honest, for that's what they were) who fell to the ground at Kent, slugs in their bellies and heads, knew that the guys pulling the White House strings were not merely denying political rights to the blacks, the chic-anos, and the bottom dogs, but were depriving people of human rights. The students also knew what the Senate has known for a long time but has refused to act upon. The President superseded his powers, juggled with words (since when is an invasion not an invasion, a war not a war—) as easily as he did with lives, and passed the Cambodian fiasco off with benedictions.

So of course the drama at Kent State was predictable and unavoidable, for it turns out that those who took to the streets were the keepers of the national conscience. Their rage had no proper focus; the students being moral rather than political creatures had no way of knowing that smashing the windows of the Portage National Bank, a Revco drug store, and a shoe palace would not destroy the economic and social web that

holds racism, war, and deliberate neglect. After all, how does one fight an *ethos*? Are folk-ways ever state-ways? You can't (as T.S.Eliot once argued) disperse a mist with a hand-grenade.

There must have been a real panic in Columbus. Miami and Ohio State University had been embarrassments. The primaries were coming up; candidates who wished to appear strong had to push for law and order (Ohio had turned in a large Wallace vote in the national election; no hippie "freaks" were going to tell the politicos anything). Guardsmen, wearied from patrolling Northern Ohio highways and truck-routes during the recent trucker's strike, moved into Kent. Armored personnel carriers sat on the campus; soldiers began to stand guard.

The burning of the R.O.T.C. building, late Sunday night, changed everything. A crummy, wooden structure, it made visible the ties between academia and the military. Jammed into the bowels of the campus, it converted young men (perhaps unbeknownst to themselves) into cannon-fodder. Its demolition put the Campus and town under a state of emergency.

At a hurriedly-called faculty meeting, designed to put the university back together again, the questions that grew out of the campus *debacle* were put on the block. After endless hassles, we asked could we not condemn the seemingly wanton arson and destruction of university property? Should we not argue that the commander of the National Guard and the Governor were to blame for the death of four students and the wounding of eleven? How could the university siege be lifted, and the campus be returned to its nominal custodians -- the faculty, the administration, and the students? These are good questions; they are pract-

ical. However, they are not real.

They ignore the fact that we do not make our lives out of whole cloth. The kids who massed at the campus field, and dropped wounded and dead on the lawns were not pre-formed beings. Their problems (to paraphrase Flaubert) did not drop upon them like a meteor from the heavens. In fact, the innocents who were slain (and there is, unfortunately, no stronger word for it) should remind us that no act is self-contained, that no one is apolitical.

Caught in a triple crisis, ethical, historical, and psychological, our students and youths find themselves forced to adopt silly meaningless, and banal roles for the duration of their education. The young are denied the vote but not the draft, worked upon by the exigencies of the nation but forced out of the decision making, and come-of-age early but told to deny their visions. As a result, the students have discovered that this is no youth culture but a cryptically aged one. For the elders, aware that it is virtually impossible to be uninformed about most issues (given the density and multiplicity of our media) have allowed those not of their legal majority to while away their times creating micro-cultures that give them the right to deliberate, to choose, and to determine. Of course, these options are, in actuality, meaningless for they carry no real political weight. Subterranean life-styles, predicated upon youth, fracture when the individual is suddenly thrust into what we revealingly call "the real world." Forced to make important decisions, confronted with the relationship, Kent State students, like their counterparts at other universities, found themselves portrayed as rioters, looters, and long-haired zanies. They had tried to create a centaur, placing a radical idealism

on the body of politics, and had been shot.

After the killings, I helped evacuate students from the university. Monday evening caught me in Elyria, and I got on the Ohio Pike back to Kent. At Streetsboro, the State Patrol forced me to detour into Ravenna, and I hoped I could beat the eight-o'clock curfew.

Coming down Route Five, I picked up two hitch-hikers, an old man, cigar tipping from his mouth, and a young girl carrying a suitcase and a cheap plastic radio, a hangar for an antenna.

I: "Where do you come from?"  
She: "California. I ain't got no place there anymore. Me and him -- he's my daddy -- been hitching all the time. We're going to Kent. The screws said if I was in town before eight, they'd let me stay. We're staying with a friend. Shit, I ain't gotno home at all."

He grinned assent, relit the stogie, and looked out. The roadblock was up ahead, and when we stopped in front of the cops carrying shotguns, I pulled out my faculty I.D. "I teach at K.S.U., and I'm taking these people into town." The cop looked quizzically (how many times do you really find a fifteen year-old girl claiming that the gent in the back is her father). "Go on in," he told us, and they got off at the Camera Supply.

Riding down Main Street, watching Guardsmen and the Patrol kneeling in doorways, looking at them fondle their automatics and choke guns, I too had to say, "I ain't got no home."

Lew Fried received his Bachelor of Arts, and Masters degrees from Queens College, City University of New York, and received his Ph.D. in American Literature from the University of Massachusetts. He is presently an Assistant Professor of American Literature at Kent State University.

**FLOWERS and BULLETS**

by Evgeni Evtushenko

Trans....Olga Hassanoff and Virginia Wilton.

This poem appeared in Pravda, 18th May 1970.

To the memory of the Kent State Uni Student Allison Krause, killed in a demonstration against the war the U.S.A. is waging in S.E.Asia.

He who loves flowers  
is not liked by bullets, naturally.

Bullets are jealous ladies  
Is it worth waiting for goodness?  
Nineteen year-old Allison Krause,  
you are dead  
because you loved flowers.

It was  
an expression of the purest hopes,  
that moment  
in which, defenceless like the faintest  
pulse of conscience,  
you inserted a flower  
into the muzzle of the pig's\* gun  
and said:

"Flowers are better than bullets".  
Do not give flowers to a State,  
where truth is penalised.

The reply from such a state will be cynicism, cruelty,

and your reply,  
Allison Krause,  
was a bullet,  
pushing out the flower.  
Let all the apple-trees of the world be  
decked

not in white,  
but in mourning  
Oh, the scent of the lilac!  
but you sense nothing.

As the President said of you,  
you are a "bum".

Every corpse is a bum.  
but not of his own making,  
You lie on the grass  
a caramel in your mouth.  
You will have no more new dresses,  
you will read no more new books.

You were a student.  
You studied fine arts  
But there is another art --  
bloody and frightful.  
'n the art of butchery, probably  
there are also geniuses  
Who was Hitler?  
The Cubist who innovated gas chambers.  
On behalf of all flowers  
I curse your creations,  
architects of the lie,  
conductors of murder!  
The mothers of the world whisper  
"God, oh God"  
And the fortune-tellers are afraid  
to predict the future.  
Death now dances the rock-and-roll  
on fields of bones in Vietnam,  
Cambodia,  
And what stage  
will it find for itself tomorrow?!

Arise, girls of Tokyo,  
boys of Rome,  
Raise flowers  
against the common enemy.  
All together, blow on all the dandelions  
in the world  
O what a snowstorm there will be!  
Prepare yourselves, flowers, for the war!  
Chastise the chastisers!  
Tulip after tulip,  
gillyflower after gillyflower  
Bursting with rage  
out of your neat flower-beds,  
With your roots covered with earth  
stuff the mouths of all the hypocrites.  
Jasmine, wind yourself

around the propellers of destroyers!  
Burr, stick to the gunsights,  
and desperately cling to their lenses!  
Arise, lilies of the Ganges,  
lotuses of the Nile,  
and foul up the propellers of aeroplanes  
that bring death to children!  
Roses, be not proud, that you are more  
costly!  
Although it's nice to touch a tender girl-  
ish cheek: --  
Grow your thorns longer  
and sharper  
so as to pierce  
the tanks  
of bombers.  
Bullets, it is true, are more powerful than  
flowers.  
You cannot revolt against bullets with  
flowers  
and that's that.  
A stamen is too frail,  
a petal is a poor shield  
But the Vietnamese girl -- Allison's con-  
tempory, --  
with a rifle in her hands,  
is a flower armed  
with the people's wrath  
Even if the flowers revolt,  
it isn't done to play hide-and-peek  
with history.

Youth of America,  
tie the hands of the murderers!  
Swell, swell,  
the escalation of the truth  
against the escalation of the lie,  
which tramples on people's lives!  
Prepare yourselves, flowers, for the war!  
Defend the beautiful!  
Flood the highways and the byways,  
like a terrible army,  
And arise, murdered Allison Krause,  
join the columns of people and flowers  
like the immortal of the epoch --  
the thorny flower of protest!

\*Derzhimorda, a character in Gogol's "Inspector General, has become the prototype of a very brutal and stupid policeman. Evtushenko makes an adjective of this word which also connotes "ugly mug", "muzzle", "snout".

# STAY HOME NIGGER

## hector kinloch

FORTUNATELY, the government of Australia has refused to give Dick Gregory a visa to visit this country.

It is fortunate, because a month ago comparatively few inhabitants of Australia knew anything about him; but now he is one of the best-known Americans never to have been here! Furthermore, although he cannot come himself, his ideas have been given wider currency than might otherwise have been the case. The news media gave him extensive coverage. The Age, for example, presented a most sympathetic full-page article in "The Saturday Review" on September 5th. One day last week, I was listening to 2CA, and was surprised to hear this question on a phone in quiz contest: "What was the name of the American comedian who was refused a visa to enter Australia?" Dick Gregory, like Philip Roth, is probably delighted with that kind of publicity. He can be sure that if ever he is allowed into Australia, whether as a tourist or a showman, he will be big box-office. Any TV station which runs a programme in which he appears has a huge ready-made audience. So, thank-you Mr. Gorton!

Yet, despite my gratitude, I am also upset at missing an in-the-flesh Dick Gregory. Barry Humphries in black-face is no substitute; neither is Mr. Kaputin from TPNG, although both of them are worth watching. I am much more upset at some recent statements by members of the government team. Its leader, not satisfied with banning Dick Gregory's brand of humour, tried to justify his decision by saying, "I do not see why we should allow ... aliens to come here for the purpose of interfering in political matters in Australia." Oh dear! As an alien myself, am I supposed to go around touching my forelock to every Australian citizen? Is freedom of speech to be restricted to British subjects? Contrariwise, are Australians to be forbidden to travel to the United States unless they undertake to breathe no word of criticism? Should migrants to this country and foreign students and visitors be denied the very rights which the Australian Government professes to uphold? In any case, it's dubious that a few speeches in a few public meetings by an American advocate of non-violence can be considered to be "interfering in political matters in Australia". The Vietnam war, is hardly a matter about which American citizens can be expected to remain silent while in Australia. Alas, it's "our" war, rather than yours. When we move out, as we are trying to do, you will not be staying there to uphold the South Vietnamese government. Perhaps Dick Gregory could have performed a very great service to Australia by helping to remind Australians that Americans, by the millions — white and black and in-between — are anxious to get out of mainland wars in South east Asia; and to turn their attention to what are, from an American point of view, much more urgent domestic problems. Although I am not particularly enthusiastic about the forth-coming moratorium, which seems to me to be too much concerned to be pro-N.L.F. than to be anti-war, I will now support it, if only as an exercise in freedom of speech, and freedom of dissent. Those freedoms, by the way, are constitutionally guaranteed in the United States by the First Amendment to the Constitution, part of the so-called "Bill of Rights", which Mr. Hughes, your Attorney-General, is reported as having dismissed as "political slogans". (I am asking the editor of this edition of Woroni to re-print the First Amendment

Professor Jean Chesneaux is Professor of Modern Far Eastern History at the Sorbonne University. This is the abridged text of a lecture he gave at Lyneham High School on August 13th, on behalf of the Canberra Moratorium.

# THE VIETNAMESE NATION

I am going to use the idea of Vietnam as a nation as the focus for a general coverage of the issues related to the fate of the Vietnamese people today.

The map of Vietnam is enough to show that it is not something defined by its geography; it has been built by history, by the long process of settlement by the Vietnamese people as they worked their way from north to south along the narrow stretch of land between the mountains and the sea. The cohesion of Vietnam is the result of this long process.

There is a long tradition of fighting foreign invaders: the Chinese, the Mongols, the Manchus, the French, the Japanese. The names of the heroes of past conflicts are still surprisingly well-known.

The culture has a separate national character. There was much influence from China, of course, but Vietnamese culture is not a simple provincial variety, it is quite distinctive, in terms of literature, cooking, dress, folklore, and the language itself.

The strength of this national character was demonstrated during the 80 years of French occupation. The French never admitted the existence of Vietnam as a nation, and divided it into three separate parts: Cochinchina, Annam, and Tonkin. This attempt to dismiss Vietnam as a historical reality failed completely; there were major uprisings nearly every year, and in the general uprising of 1945, Vietnam fought as a NATION, and recovered their independence at the time of the Japanese collapse ("August Revolution").

Thus I would argue that Vietnam has a strong national identity.

What of the present division of the country into North and South? At the Geneva Conference of 1954, the decision was taken to divide Vietnam at the 17th parallel. It was stated absolutely in the provisions accepted by all the major powers in Geneva in 1954 that this was merely a technical device to facilitate the ceasefire, that the division had nothing to do with political partition, because there is no historical or political basis for such a partition, and that nationwide elections were to be held before July 1956. As everyone knows, those elections did not take place.

Therefore, there is not such a thing as South Vietnam as an independent unit. And therefore, one cannot speak of a South Vietnam to be protected against outside intervention and sub-version. One cannot reverse cause and effect. One cannot present the existence of South Vietnam as the justification for American intervention, as it is just the other way around! South Vietnam exists as a separate political entity only because of this outside interference.

This I think has to be put very clearly.

This war is a national war, not a civil war, since the other side is not the product of the internal dynamics of Vietnamese society.

There is a comparison to make with China: in China, the war between the Communists and the Kuo mintang WAS a civil war, despite the late intervention of American troops, since Chiang Kai-shek had emerged as the result of certain trends in Chinese politics in the 1920s and 30s.

In Vietnam it is not the same. Diem is not a Chiang Kai-shek, and the war is not a civil war, but a national struggle of large strata of the population in the South against a small handful of people who have accepted working with a foreign government from 1955 onwards.

Look at the Vietnamese communities in such places as New Caledonia, France, even the US: they almost all support the NLF, even though there is no pressure on them to do so. Their behaviour makes an excellent test for determining where the national cause of Vietnam is felt to lie. One could also quote the number of defectors from the Saigon army, which has been increasingly higher.

### GUERRILLA WARFARE.

The NLF has little modern equipment, but it has stalemated the biggest and most sophisticated military machine in the history of the world. What is as powerful as the US military might? The collective determination of the Vietnamese people. General Giap put it this way: "In order to understand why the Americans will never win, one must understand that a guerrilla may cross a little river on a bamboo bridge, and an American tank cannot."

Under this statement lies a general criticism of our technical progress. It is easier to hijack a Boeing 747 than to hold up a stagecoach. The more complicated the technology, the more vulnerable it is. And so the Vietnam war is a challenge to the dogma of the overwhelming superiority of the advanced industrial society.

Saigon politics must be understood against the background of Vietnam as a nation. Who is "legitimate", i.e. who has the national mandate? Certainly not the Saigon government. The Saigon government has gone through various stages of instability; the leadership of the NLF and Hanoi has been stable for 10 or 15 years.

If the US withdrew its forces, the NLF would accept a coalition government. By coalition they mean a government which includes everybody, even elements which may have compromised, at some stage, with the pro-American government, but who are now willing to associate themselves with the demand for American withdrawal. The NLF also accept the idea of a 'caretaker' government; to effect the transition to coalition, which would not include the NLF - providing that the members of this provisional government were acceptable to them.

One could also emphasize the national character of Vietnamese communism. Historically, communism in Vietnam was linked with China, USSR, and France. Ho Chi-Minh lived for a time in each of these places as a communist activist. This combination of influences is quite unique.

The Vietnamese have refused to take sides between Peking and Moscow. This could be called tactical: in their own interests, they need the goodwill of them both.

But it is more than tactical: it is a matter of principle with them. Neither as Vietnamese nationals nor as supporters of Communist internationalism can they ally themselves exclusively with either China or Russia.

Now I will talk about Vietnam as a national entity within Indo-China. Indo-China was created by the French from the independent states formerly existing there. It was divided into five units, i.e. the three of Vietnam, plus Cambodia and Laos. Some common elements derived from "Indo-china" (the French language experience of the same French colonial system); but the histories of the political movement in these countries have not been identical. Laos and Cambodia developed their own political lives at a later stage than Vietnam, and out of different conditions. The more the war develops in all this area, the closer the Vietnamese feel to those forces in Laos and Cambodia which are resisting American intervention. The tendency is towards closer and closer solidarity.

But the Vietnamese have always made a point that this must not go too far. Shortly before the French came, the feudal State of Vietnam was exerting pressure on the two weaker States of Cambodia and Laos, in competition with Thailand. Thus the Vietnamese are alert to the danger of a Vietnamese take-over. They want to cooperate, not to dominate.

It is incorrect to say that the combatants in Cambodia are all North Vietnamese of Viet Cong. Recent actions have not been associated with the Vietnam borders but have been throughout the country. A US newspaper has reported recently that the dead on both sides have been largely Cambodian.

In the years preceding 1965, the US fought a "special war", a war by proxy, supplying the money and weapons for the Saigon forces to fight. Thus Nixon's Vietnamization is really a second attempt. Nixon's technique is to transform the American involvement in Vietnam into an "automated" war. A car factory can both reduce the manpower, and increase production, through "automation."

In Vietnam, the "production", that is the war destruction, has been increased. Between 1965 and 1969, aircraft dropped 5,172,588 tons of explosives; artillery and infantry used 5,155,700 tons of munitions between January 1968 and May 1970, which means that in three years more than 10 million tons of explosives were dropped in Indo-China. THIS IS EQUAL TO 500 BOMBS OF THE HIROSHIMA TYPE - and they were dropped without the moral scandal an atom bomb would have caused.

The U.S. manpower in Vietnam has had to be reduced, because it was proving troublesome - there were casualties, which caused an outcry in America; there was increased discontent in the army, especially among the black. It was more efficient to introduce a new stage, where there will be more killing, but fewer American lives involved.

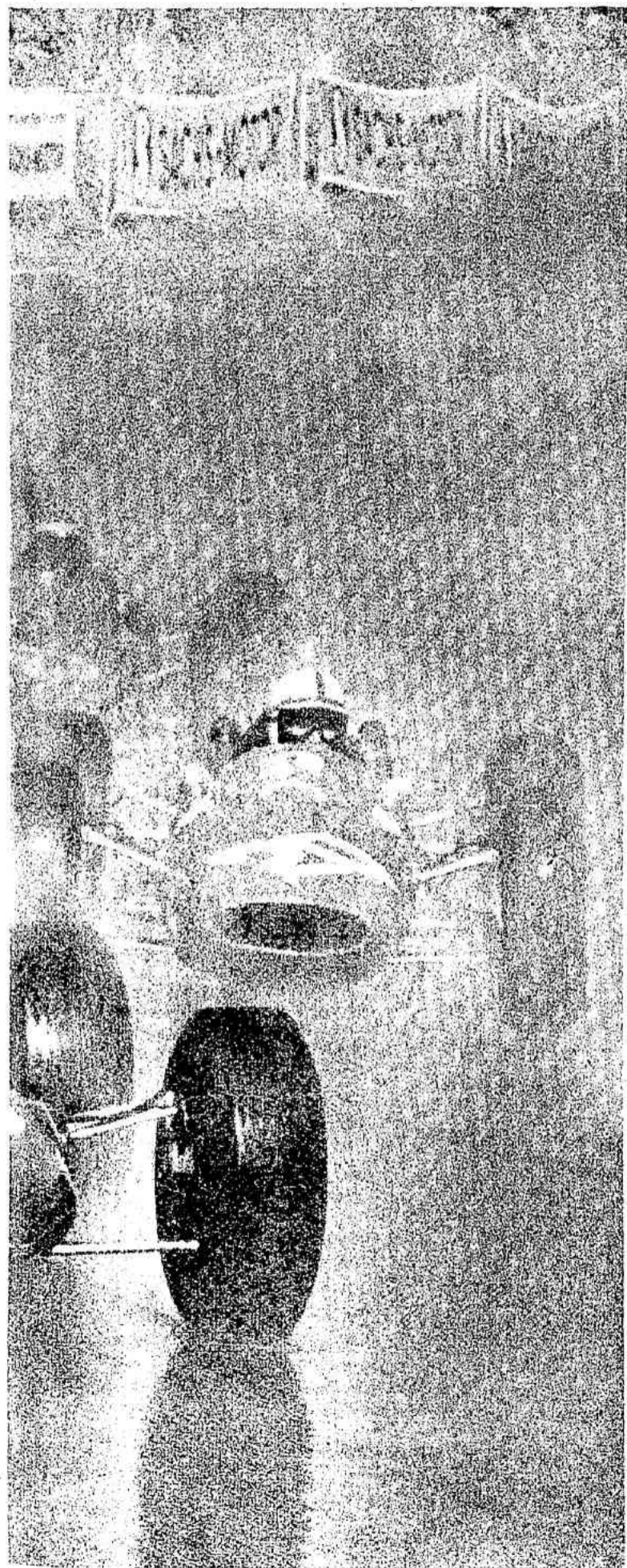
There is a strong policy behind all this - Nixon must be taken seriously. The Peace Movement must enter a new stage too, based not on the fear of loss of American and Australian lives, but on a deeper awareness of political realities.



You have a right to vote - Use it.  
 The ballot paper is contained in the September issue of the "Open Road".  
 Open your "Open Road" and vote **Road Reform**.  
 Follow this "How to Vote" ticket and follow the instructions carefully.  
 Cross out the names on your ballot paper as shown below.  
 Make sure you cross out nine names.

- Adams, Edward W.....
- AITCHISON, Ronald E.....
- EDWARDS, Maurice C.....
- FINK, Leon.....
- Greenwood, James M.....
- Griffin, James B.....
- Howell, L.....
- LANDA, D. Paul.....
- Lawrence, Max E.....
- McBEATTY, Edward C.....
- MENADUE, John L.....
- Millner J.S.....
- Neek, Sir Norman.....
- Pettingell, William W.....
- SKRZYNSKI, Joseph J.....
- SPIGELMAN, James J.....
- Steyenson, Major General J.R.....

Put your ballot paper in an envelope, put that envelope in another envelope together with a slip of paper on which you have signed your name and membership number, and send to the N.R.M.A. at 151 Clarence Street, Sydney, 2000



Such allegations should not simply be printed and forgotten. They should serve as the basis of N.R.M.A. negotiation and action. They deserve more publicity than the N.R.M.A. has been willing to give.

One fundamental problem has been revealed in Open Road tests, but no attempt has been made to remedy it. Over a period of eighteen months 42 road tests appeared in The Open Road. In 14 of these tests problems arose from the use of seat belts, problems which would tend to stop drivers using them. In most of these cases it was found that with the seat belt fastened the driver could not reach certain key controls. This problem parallels U.S. experience, for after the introduction of mandatory seat belt requirements it was found that manufacturers simply put in the belts without taking them into account in internal design. This ridiculous situation led to the issue of a new Federal Safety Standard which added "This standard requires that the ... essential controls of passenger cars be within the reach of the driver restrained by a seat belt".

The evidence for a campaign on this point has been available to the N.R.M.A. from its own road tests. Nothing has been done. As long as groups like the N.R.M.A. refuse to publicly reveal and emphasise known defects, car manufacturers will not become responsible to the demands of safety in their designs.

Even when the car manufacturers take some safety measures, the N.R.M.A.'s stance has been unco-operative. Last year many cars were recalled for defective brake valves: 15,000 by G.M.H., 10,000 by British Leyland and 400 by Ford. This defective valve could lead to sudden brake failure and I know there was at least one inspection carried out by the N.R.M.A. in such a case - well before the car companies acted. There was no representation by the N.R.M.A. on this point. Indeed when the recall was announced, an N.R.M.A. statement downgraded its importance and made assertions which were challenged by other brake experts (See Sun Herald 7/9/69 and 14/9/69).

Overseas experience with manufacturer's recall programmes has indicated variable rates of success. After downgrading the importance of such potential brake failure the N.R.M.A. did not assist the manufacturers in their recall programme: the issue was not even mentioned in "The Open Road" Attempts by the present author to discover the response to the recall have not been fruitful. Thus a G.M.H. spokesman described the issue as "sensitive" and suggested I write a letter to their head office. At the time of writing no reply has been received.

The N.R.M.A.'s 35,000 inspections a year and its large number of insurance claims should enable the N.R.M.A. to discover the frequency of defects in particular models. To this must be added the information available from Open Road tests. The N.R.M.A. itself is the best satirist of its lack of concern in this area. Thus a few years ago an article in "The Open Road" on how a road test was conducted began with the sentence: "Road Testing a car for 'The Open Road' is a fascinating and informative way of spending a day in the country."

The Road Reform Team is committed to harnessing the N. R.M.A.'s sources of information into a major campaign on car safety. It would establish a regular system of discovering in which of its insurance claims vehicle defects have been responsible for the accident or particular damage. In such cases, legal action should be taken to make the manufacturer pay. At present the insurance company would have to pay and the refusal by the N.R.M.A. to take legal action thus has important effects in increasing insurance premiums.

The potential of systematic investigation of defects in particular models has recently been highlighted by the N.S.W. Traffic Accident Research Unit. A recent report by the unit established that two cars, Volkswagen sedans and Morris Minis were represented in a disproportionately large number of fatal fire involved accidents. This single example outlines the possibility of the manufacturers legal liability. It also indicates what the N.R.M.A. could discover if it properly utilised its sources of information. An activist N.R.M.A. would be an important adjunct to the work being done by the Traffic Accident Research Unit.

## POLLUTION

The figures outlined by the Senate Select Committee on Air Pollution on Sydney's average pollutant concentration, show that the levels are already above those laid down by law as the maximum permissible concentration in some U.S. states. U.S. citizens have come to realise that different cars contribute indifferent degrees to the pollution problem and socially conscious citizens are beginning to require such information before they purchase a car. It would be a simple process for the N.R.M.A. to incorporate a pollution test in its standard road test. The fund of expertise available to the N.R.M.A. indicates that it could play an important role in the Australian pollution debate.

This role of the N. R.M.A. with respect to pollution brings out the failure of policy direction by the Council. This can be contrasted with the technical initiatives of the N.R.M.A. staff.

The N.R.M.A. has two cars which are running on liquified petroleum gas (L.P.G.) rather than petrol. An experiment of such a limited scale will prove little. It shows that the N.R.M.A. staff can initiate imaginative projects but the size of this experiment indicates that the Council is unable to appreciate the importance of the issue and ensure an experiment of meaningful scale.

The benefits of LPG have been accepted overseas, but in Australia its use has been limited primarily, some suggest, because the oil companies takeover any company which seems to be adopting an aggressive marketing strategy. It is only in recent years that C.I.G. has begun to step into the field vigorously and they are about to convert several hundred taxis in Melbourne to LPG. The Senate Select Committee on Air pollution received a submission on this topic but without any Australian evidence they could not make a firm recommendation. A full N.R.M.A. test could provide this evidence.

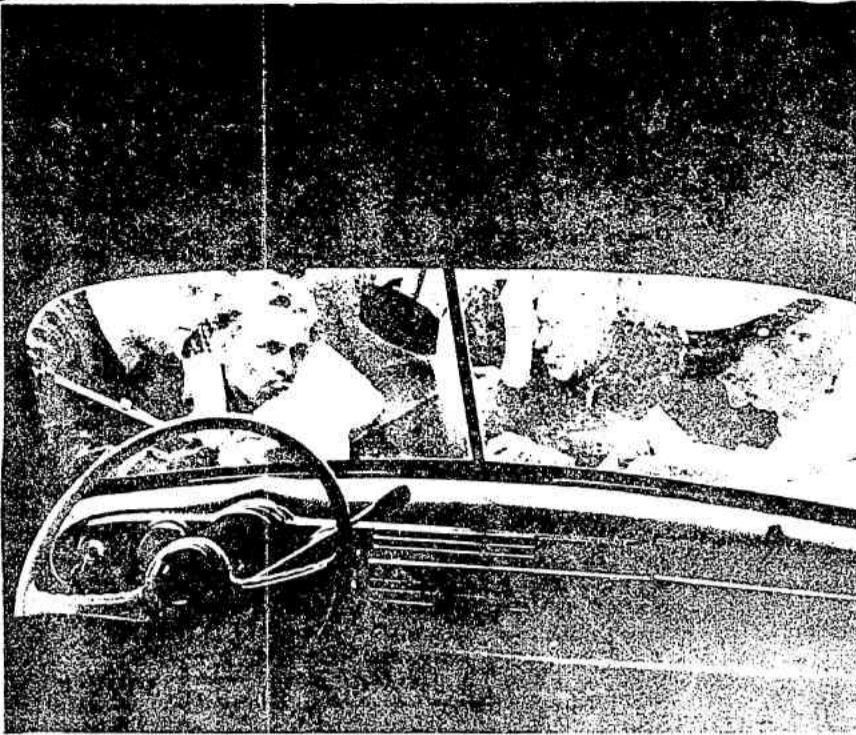
The only major use for LPG at the moment in Australia is in fork lift trucks. It has been found that carbon monoxide emissions lessen worker efficiency in the enclosed spaces in which fork lift trucks operate. Now that we have come to view the atmosphere itself as an "enclosed space", the case for LPG is surely worth investigating further. Despite the experiment initiated by the N.R.M.A.'s technical staff, it is clear that at the policy making level, the importance of the issue has not been appreciated.

## TOWN PLANNING

In the area of urban planning the N.R.M.A. has been particularly innocuous. Its basic stand can be characterised as supporting the building, widening or extension of any road anywhere. The widening of Jersey Road would seriously disrupt Paddington; the extension of the Warringah Expressway is a project which most town planners regard as of low priority. The N.R.M.A. has supported both.

The N.R.M.A. is not just a small group of motorists: it represents virtually every family in the State. It is fundamentally irresponsible for any institution to emphasise one aspect of urban planning without any consideration of the broader implications. The fact that the Australian road system is poor by international standards must be acknowledged. This has implications for road safety as well as urban congestion. One must however place road construction in an integrated perspective; road construction must be seen as an adjunct to land use planning and must be integrated with proper development of public transport alternatives. The British economist E.J. Mishan has developed a "Parkinsons Law of Traffic": that private motoring expands so as to fill the road space made available. The N.R.M.A.'s preoccupation with roads only makes sense if one sees it as a pressure group for "motorists"; but motorists are people who have all sorts of demands on the city in which they live. The same person who is annoyed by the barriers in Martin Place may at another time take advantage of the open space in the Martin Place Plaza.

Perhaps this bias in the N.R.M.A. perspective would not matter very much if its influence as a pressure group were counterbalanced by well-organised institutions representing the interest of public transport commuters, pedestrians etc. No such



## from p.11

organisations exist, or rather none of comparable size and influence. A basic problem of any democratic system is that some forms of group interest are more readily organisable than others, yet organisation is the key to efficacy. It is irresponsible for a community wide institution like the N.R.M.A. to adopt as its sole criterion of action, the concept of the motorist. It must pay constant regard to its broader social responsibilities.

The influence on urban planning of a single purpose N.R.M.A. is particularly pernicious in N.S.W. One of the major bureaucratic hang ups of Sydney planning is the fact that the Department of Main Roads operates quite independently of the State Planning Authority.

The Outline Plan for Sydney prepared by the State Planning Authority contains the following revealing sentence: "advice has been received from the Department (of Main Roads) as to which of their road proposals should be regarded as reasonably firm commitments for future regional planning purposes". The entire plan takes for granted, as an inflexible datum, the D.M.R.'s road plan, this surely puts the cart before the horse. The D.M.R.'s programme is still based on a plan developed from a 1945 survey and accepted by the State Government in 1951. The logical imperative of the continued acceptance of this plan is for the future of Sydney to be in further sprawl west.

For bureaucratic and political reasons the possibility of reasonable choice about what sort of city Sydney should become has been closed. The Outline Plan by the S.P.A. prevents no real discussion of alternatives. The major choices have been closed because of the political independence of the road construction plan. Because of its narrow terms of reference, the N.R.M.A. as a large and influential pressure group, backs up this unhealthy division.

### Electoral Reform

The N.R.M.A. is in theory a democratic institution, but it has never worked that way. There have only been six contested elections in the last twenty years and only

once, last year, was there a full slate of alternative candidates. In none of these elections were the retiring Councillors defeated. The practice has been that it a Councillor wished to retire, he would do so a month or so before the elections and this permitted the Council to fill a vacancy. In fact all eight of the Councillors retiring in this election were first appointed to the N.R.M.A. by being coopted in this manner. The Reform Team hopes to be elected directly by the membership.

The present voting system is cumbersome and difficult. Its technical complexities result in a large number of informal votes. At the least, members should expect to receive all the relevant voting materials and not simply receive a ballot paper printed in the "Open Road"

### N.R.M.A. Services and Structure

The Road Reform Team agrees that the basic N.R.M.A. services are provided in an efficient manner. There are certain doubts about effective use of funds but we are not able to make this an issue. The N.R.M.A.'s published financial data is singularly uninformative, providing only the bare minimum required by the Companies Act and not one line item more. This renders effective assessment difficult. Furthermore the financial statement for the year ending 30th June last, will not be released until after the present elections. Some doubts remain especially in view of the fact that the rate of return on the N.R.M.A.'s investments is less than 4%. Furthermore it lost \$1 million on the Stock Exchange in 1967-68.

The recent announcement of a 10% increase in insurance premiums was accompanied by a justification in terms of a \$1.8 million underwriting deficit for the year. This sole rationale is a meaningless figure for an insurance company which must reveal its investment income and capital gain during the year in order to give a fair statement of its financial position. No such information was made available and this raises further doubts about the investment policy of the company during the year of a great share market boom.

One point about the N.R.M.A. insurance contract must be made. This year the N.R.M.A. introduced a new printed form but at no stage did it explain that certain conditions of the contract had been changed. "The Open Road" commented simply that "The terms of the policy are now expressed in more readily understood language". One basic change is particularly pernicious. The old contract stated that the N.R.M.A. would not be liable if the accident occurred whilst the car was in an unsafe condition "to the knowledge of the Assured". In the new contract this crucial phrase is omitted. The Reform Team believes that the assured should not be refused payment for defects of which he was unaware and the contract should be changed.

Some questions about the N.R.M.A.'s internal structure should be carefully investigated. Thus the propriety of one insurance or hire purchases company criticising another could give rise to some doubts. Thus a full investigation should be undertaken with a view to separating the N.R.M.A.'s functions e.g. ensuring that no Councillor can be on both the Board of Management and in the board of the Insurance Company.

Furthermore the N.R.M.A. should investigate its structure from the point of view of the fundamental conflict of interest between an insurer and a repairer. This is the source of many of the criticisms of Motor-Marine and General. Perhaps the N.R.M.A. should change this present position where the repair company is a direct subsidiary, of the insurance company with the same board of directors. These are matters for serious enquiry.

### A Balanced Team

The Reform Team brings together a group of people who are concerned with the full spectrum of the N.R.M.A.'s social responsibilities. It combines a broad base of expertise with an appropriate balance of youth and experience — Professor, Ron Aitchison of the Australian Consumer Association.

Maurice Edwards, one of Sydney's senior town planners, and others, including several people with business experience, a solicitor, an economist and a trade union secretary.

The one thing that has brought this group together is a firm conviction that the N.R.M.A. should become a fighting institution and break out of its 50 year old terms of reference into the new areas of consumer protection, road safety, pollution and urban planning.

"If we believe that education should first and foremost be involved with truth and with the methods of arriving at the truth and if truth is pursued in Papua and New Guinea, then clearly we should bear in mind that very soon, the Papuans and New Guineans will want to

formulate their own political future bearing in mind the truths as they know them..."

"The eventual determination of this country's political economic future must of course remain the inalienable right of the native inhabitants themselves..."  
John Kaputin.

# THE MATAUNGANS

John Kaputin is to give a lunchtime talk next Thursday along with several Labor Members of Parliament in support of the Vietnam Moratorium. He is one of the leaders of the Mataungan Association, which represents many of the Tolai people, who live on the Gazelle Peninsula on the island of New Britain, part of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. The association has been in the news several times since its formation in 1969, and Kaputin is one of the few of the executive who have not been imprisoned for defying edicts of the Australian Administration concerning the type of government imposed on the Tolais. Several association members are currently being prosecuted for failure to pay taxes to the Gazelle Multi-racial Council.

Though the proclamation of the multi-racial council precipitated the formation of the Mataungan Association, there were underlying factors already present which only needed a focus. The predecessor of the Gazelle Multi-racial Council was the Gazelle Local Government Council, which was all-Tolai and represented all the Gazelle area with the exception of the town of Rabaul. The Administration decided to convert the council into the Gazelle Multi-racial Council and this was duly done in August, 1969. The new council represents the alien planters and businessmen etc of the area as well as the Tolais. The Mataungans have opposed the new council not because it is multi-racial (i.e. including Australians and Chinese), but because they fear exploitation and dispute the right of a foreign power to tell them what government to have.

The following is adapted from an article by Dr. Scarlett Epstein in NEW GUINEA, Dec 69-Jan 70 issue, and other information from her. Please do not blame Dr Epstein for any mistakes, rhetorical flourishes, or dramatic conclusions....James Jacobsen

The Mataungan Association, the first radical mass movement in the whole of the TPNG, deserves close examination. What are its antecedents, developments, and prospects?

Interdependent sociological, political, and economic factors have led to the rise of the Mataungan Association with economic roles and relations being the most important.

The Tolai are generally regarded as among the most advanced and wealthiest people of the territory. This stems partly from the good soils of the area, but also from the flexibility of traditional Tolai society. Any individual could become a 'big man', judged largely on economic criteria. Thus new opportunities, such as cash cropping, were quickly seized, and 2/3 of the 142,000 acres of Tolai agricultural land is under copra and cocoa production. The remaining land, however, is entirely used for subsistence requirements of the over 19,000 Tolai families.

In effect, then, there is now a land shortage, since no expansion of income-producing or subsistence farming is possible, and this is aggravated by the fact that about 30% of all Gazelle Peninsula land is owned by aliens (mostly Australians and Chinese). And the rate of increase of population (3.83% p.s.) is the highest in the TPNG.

Agriculture, the most important factor in the economics of the Tolais, therefore is a possible cause of unrest. But there are other fields in which Tolais can work, e.g. in service industries or as businessmen. The service industries (transport, retail, etc) are already saturated, however, and local businesses have severe disadvantages: lack of experience and knowledge, limited sales opportunities in both the Gazelle area and export markets, and overwhelming competition. The Australian Government's policy of encouraging established Australian and overseas companies to set up branches in TPNG, usually with

tax advantages, etc, means that there is just no room for a native-owned enterprise to get off the ground. Consequently, Tolai savings accounts in Rabaul totalled \$3.2 million in mid-1969; this is Tolai money which is prevented from being put to good use by Australian Government policy. This sort of economic frustration (agriculture, trading, and business) tries to find expression through the Mataungan movement.

Nor can the Tolais effectively find opportunity elsewhere in TPNG. Though their numbers in elite occupations such as teaching, transport, carpentry, etc, are in greater proportion than any other native group's, the number of Tolais who have seized the educational opportunities available still greatly exceeds the number of employment opportunities available to semi-educated natives. This has helped to create an educated pool of 'angry young men' who can lead a political movement.

The Tolais are used to being more advanced than other areas of TPNG, and are now finding their ambition thwarted. Thus comes the opposition to any form of government, such as the Gazelle Multi-racial Council, established by decree from above by the Administration.

The younger Tolai leaders are from a mould different from the 'Yes Masta. No Masta' mould which they say is that of older Tolai leaders. Since the younger leaders are themselves educated and articulate in English, they can combat the superior oratory and administrative skills of the expatriates. Many Tolais fear that their elders, who represent them on the Gazelle Multi-racial Council, are too easily swayed by expatriates. The fears are based on experience.

The gap between the conservative traditional leaders and the new educated politicians does seem to be a real factor in Gazelle politics. Established Tolai 'big men', who control most of the Tolai assets, have nothing to gain from any changes. But the stifling of growth dis-



... discussed above means that no-one else has an opportunity to improve his economic means, and hence people turn to political organizations. The dividing line is by no means clearcut, however, with regard to age or education: a large number of poorly educated but well-respected older Tolais support the Mataungan Association.

**Formation of the Mataungan Association**

Oscar Tammur, a member of the TPNG House of Assembly, is often said to be the founder. He says that in fact the first approaches were made to him by the Matupis, and that the association rose out of discussions between the people of the Matupit and Kokopo regions. The first meeting was in May, 1969, and the name was selected in June. It is an important unifying group in what were formerly antagonistic tribal regions.

The association began because of widespread fears that the new Gazelle Multi-racial Council would be a vehicle through which expatriates could continue to influence or even dominate the politics and economy of the region. The former Gazelle Local Government Council had voted in favour of the new council; however, Oscar Tammur made a speech to them in May, 1969, which was so convincing that the old council immediately passed a resolution calling on the Administration to rescind the Proclamation for the new council. This resolution was rejected by the Administrator, who proceeded with arrangements for elections. It is difficult to avoid connecting the miniscule 20% voter turnout with the Mataungans' call to boycott the elections.

The predecessor of the new Gazelle Multi-racial Council had been 100% Tolai with very limited powers; suddenly, with the addition of four expatriate members, the new council acquired much greater powers, such as "control and regulation of publication of newspapers" in all Gazelle areas except portions of Rabaul town. And it assumed control of the Tolai Cocoa Project, which had been set up by and was entirely owned by Tolais. The first Secretary of the Mataungan Association, Melchior Tomot, expressed this dissatisfaction by saying: "From my limited knowledge of law I know that only members or shareholders should sit on the board of directors of a company, but, with the introduction of the multi-racial council there is [a European councillor], a non-member of the Tolai Cocoa Project, sitting on the board of directors".

The cocoa project was the Tolais' largest capital asset, worth about \$1 million. The Mataungans were so incensed at the takeover by the new council that they boycotted the project, reducing its turnover (comparing Sept-Nov 1969 with Sept-Nov 1968) to about 1/5 of former levels.

The Mataungans are probably justified in claiming that the conversion of the council by the Administration was not in their best interests, aside from considerations of the rights of the Administration (in reality, a foreign power) to interfere in the affairs of the Tolais. They claim also that the Administration did not sufficiently explain the full implications of the conversion to the people.

It is clear that the Mataungans have much popular support; they were confident enough to call for a referendum on the question of the new council. The Administration denied this request (for reasons which may have involved the method of voting). The Administration seems to have often acted in a paternalistic ('white man's burden') fashion and has often invoked a legalistic (Canberra oriented) approach to dealing with problems that have economic, social, and political roots.

**The Mataungan Association and Future Prospects**

Some of the leaders of the association had a Gandhian approach and consequently all of the Mataungans' earlier activities were centred on the peaceful mass demonstration. The large demonstrations, up to 10,000 people, resulted in virtually no 'incidents' of any sort.

One meeting in October, 1969, of about 5,000 people at Vunadidur, regarded till then as a stronghold of the Gazelle Multi-racial Council, can only be regarded as a credit to the Administration's training of natives in business procedures! The Mataungans read, moved, seconded and voted on the minutes of the preceding meeting, etc etc.

The president, Mr. Damien Kereku, asked that the cargo cult be not foolishly followed, that people be temperate in the consumption of alcohol, that each man care for his family "as families are the backbone of any society", and all in all set out a most reasonable social programme. He and others acknowledged their great debt to Australia for communications education, health facilities, and so on, but stressed that Tolais should be the masters of their own homes. "Australians govern their country, Americans rule theirs; we also want to be bosses of our own country."

Quite a number of supporters of the association have



refused to pay the \$12 per head tax of the Gazelle Multi-racial Council. Some of these have paid their \$12 to the Mataungan Association, which issues receipts and holds the money in a trust account. At the end of 1969, the account contained over \$30,000. When the Gazelle council is reformed to the Tolais' satisfaction, the account and copies of the receipts will be delivered to the council.

In large mass actions, especially in underdeveloped regions with a tradition of tribal warfare, one could reasonably expect outbursts of violence and rioting, etc. The Mataungans have been notable for their peaceful mass actions. The Administration, however, pursues a tough and unyielding line. Before any violence actually took place, 1,000 extra police were flown into Rabaul, and a helicopter patrolled the peninsula.

Perhaps, if the Administration had tried to listen and negotiate instead of trying this massive show of force, subsequent and future confrontations could have been avoided. Australia's stated aims of gradually easing TPNG into independence could be facilitated by encouraging indigenous leaders, such as the leaders of the Mataungans, who have shown ability and shown that they have mass support. Instead the Administration has created problems for itself, since the acknowledged leaders are being goaled on behalf of their supporters, and thus outlawed.

Much of Australia's \$1,000 million five year subsidy is going to expatriates (e.g. Administration employees) or to foreign companies. Foreign investment controls nearly 90% of the economy and stifles local development and while the Administration does not respect the wishes of the people and tries to impose by force a system in its own (distorted?) image, the Tolais in particular and Papuans and New Guineans in general will feel mounting frustration and resentment of Australians. There are many precedents in the world to suggest that an independence movement, once started, rarely gives up, and also to suggest that the frustrations of the people may transcend their leaders' calls for peaceful change. Possibly the Administration's present prosecutions of Mataungans for tax evasion may create the heroes and

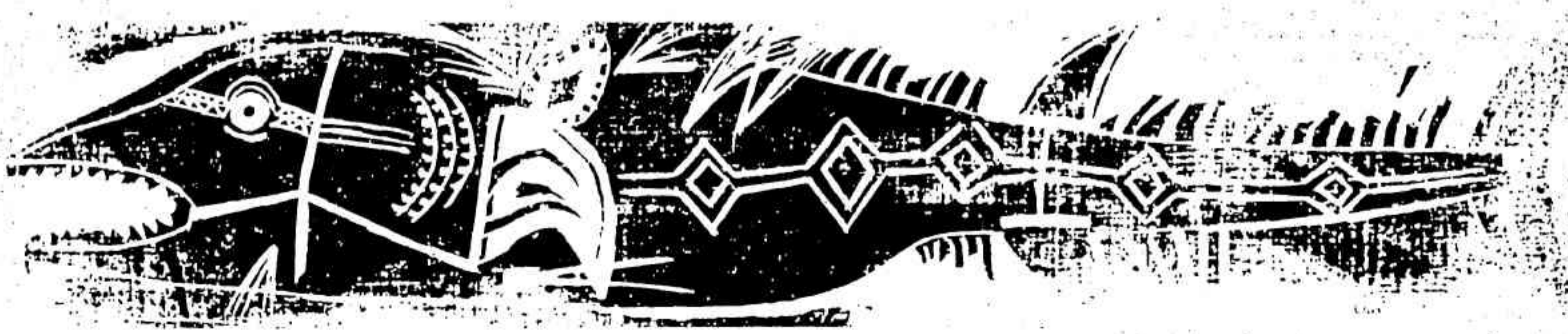
martyrs necessary for an open revolt to begin. And the Mataungan experience is influencing movements in the rest of TPNG.

We Australians have a choice of helping the grass-roots movements of TPNG to assume the responsibility of government or else trying to remain a paternalistic colonial regime which holds a fragile lid on a pot coming to the boil.

The Mataungans have often been accused of being a secessionist movement. This is an obviously Australian viewpoint, since as far as the Tolais are concerned New Guinea did not exist until the colonial powers (first Germany and then Australia) imposed their administrations. The Tolais may wish to remain separate from the rest of New Guinea, but they cannot secede from a country unless they are already part of it! It is impossible to form a country by administrative decree.

The social, political, and economic conditions must exist which pull the areas of the country together. At present, for example, the trade between New Guinea and Papua is virtually negligible, and the various native groups of tribal origin have little knowledge of anything beyond their own areas. If the different areas of New Guinea are encouraged to develop, as entities then they will begin to see the advantages of confederation. At present, the far end of New Guinea may be only slightly removed from the far side of the moon, but as an area (e.g. Gazelle) progresses politically and economically and in education, the people will see how much they have in common with the rest of TPNG and how different TPNG is from the rest of the world. Then it will be impossible to stop the country from uniting!

Indigenous technology based political and economic movements are going to develop whether Australia helps them or not, and we will only stop them by the bloodiest of repression. They will unite and gain independence from the colonial power either by peaceful means (e.g. Australia's federation in 1901) or by revolution (e.g. the American colonies in 1776 or Vietnam since 1946). Perhaps the latter vision is what has brought John Kaputin to Australia to speak for the Vietnam Moratorium.



# FUN FAIR AT FUD

For the first time in many a year, productions took a relatively minor role in the Festival of University Drama held during the last vac in Perth. Instead, workshops, seminars and discussions featured, to give a far better balanced and rewarding Festival.

Sighting the Festival in Perth was probably the main cause of the balance. Previously each uni group tended to arrive just shortly before their production was to be staged and then leave shortly afterwards without taking part in any of the other activities. This year, once delegates had taken the trouble to struggle across the Nullabor, they stayed.

Workshops in the sense of "teaching actors how to act" were abandoned in favour of three "streams" in which various forms were examined and some cursory teaching and exercises were developed. There was a fairly even split of delegates among the streams. Street Theatre led by Graeme Blundell and John Romenil from the Australian Performing Group, comedy led by Arne Neeme, director of the Octagon Theatre Company and Environmental and Children's Theatre led by Joan Pope & George Whaley. These stream activities based as they were on the group approach proved a far more satisfactory method of introducing untrained thespians to theatrical styles.

Improvisation was the keynote of the Festival and this broke out on numerous occasions to provide a constant injection of instant theatre among the more formal aspects of the Festival. The most interesting arose out of a seminar on use of the thrust stage and over a period of two hours practically every one of the 150 delegates improvised and group groped to the point of exhaustion.

The standard of productions was exceptionally high and professional but not quite as adventurous as last year's programme in Canberra. The major problem which defeated most productions was adapting to peculiar conventions of the octagon Theatre's marvellous thrust stage. The best plays were — W.A.'s MAROWITZ's MACBETH, a re-interpretation of Shakespeare's yarn that presented a more penetrating insight to MacBeth's character. It was beautifully staged and acted with a sharpness that made the play far more gripping. Monash's ENDGAME was sample of highly skilled acting that managed to sustain Beckett's extraordinarily nihilistic comedy.

ANU's entry of Jon Stephens PITY THE POOR CAT (to the surprise of all concerned) was exceedingly well received. Considerable rewriting after the Canberra season resulted in a far tighter and better structured play, and a vigorous rehearsal schedule in Perth, combined to produce a highly polished performance & production.

The "West Australian" critic said: "PITY THE POOR CAT is an unusually gentle piece muted in tones of laughter and song; its restraint and its understatement a compliment to the audience ... sustained by writing of humour and sensitivity" and on the acting "impeccable performances from the clowns. Each quickly established his own personality and the interplay between them was beautifully balanced and a continual delight." At the end of FUD, the same critic said "I would offer the prize for the best performance to the four clowns in CAT". Again, Phillip Scutt in the "Sunday Times" commented that CAT was the most memorable play and described it as "a delicate piece, with not over-stressed symbolism, sympathetically conceived and very well executed".

The majority opinion of the delegates happily agreed with these critics. But CAT was not the only contribution ANU gave to the Festival. Under Peter Krembs, the Lunchtime Group did "Ages of Marriage" which was performed here in mid last term. Intended as an introduction to readers theatre, it resulted in an extraordinarily vociferous debate which quickly reached pedantic proportions. Finally, ANU made a major contribution to the abortive mess that was called Combined Revue slapped together in five hours with remarkable calm by the masochist Stephens.

Productions aside discussions and seminars were most inspiring and lively.

With several Australian playwrights including John Romeril, Jack Hibberd and Dorothy Hewett, and theatre experimenters like Graeme Blundell and George Whaley leading the van, FUD examined new theories like those of Grotowski and while exhorting their general principles of dedication and discipline dismissed them (not offhand) as not fully relevant to the Australian scene.

A particularly satisfying aspect of discussions was the urgent concern for the state and development of Australian Theatre as opposed to Theatre in Australia, and the little encouragement given to the former. Many hours were spent trying to isolate the necessary identity of Australian Theatre and the style of acting and production which could best suit this theatre. No strong conclusions were reached, but sufficient food for thought sent delegates away as advocates for the cause. An idea spread by Blundell of establishing a series of "alternate" theatres similar to the Australian Performing Group to experiment and develop a new style of actor and to evolve the Australian Theatre will mean the establishment of such groups in Perth and Canberra next year. (Full details from Jon Stephens on the Canberra group will appear in a later WORONI). Establishment of these groups will result in an exchange of ideas and personnel and hopefully a healthy thriving, lively AUSTRALIAN Theatre.

## CHORALE

On Tuesday, 22nd September, the ANU Choral Society makes its second big appearance for the year at University House Dining Hall. This is its first concert under the new conductor, Ayis Ioannides, who has also taken charge of the Boccherini Orchestra.

The concert, which begins at 8.15pm, commences with a collection of motets by Blow, Gibbons, Vittoria, Weelkes, and Monteverdi. These vary in style of composition and singing, from the highly chromatic and often discordant chord progressions of the Blow and Monteverdi, through the Italian motel style of Vittoria to the contrapuntal intricacy of the eight-part "O Clap Your Hands" by Gibbons. These motets together form the first part of the concert.

The newly formed SCUNA small group, as yet unnamed, makes its first public appearance at the concert, with a bracket of secular works. Two English madrigals in typical English form, by Morley and Wilbye (including the superb "Draw On, Sweet Night") are combined with two songs by Debussy. The latter

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are highly unusual choral works, with the typically shifting harmonic backgrounds against which Debussy liked to fashion his compositions. These songs are one of his few excursions into the field of choral music, but they represent a remarkable success in the application to choral writings of techniques Debussy had mastered in instrumental works.

The principal work of the evening is the Bach Cantata No. 79, "Gott, Der Herr, Ist Sonn' Und Schild" (God the Lord is Sun and Shield). An orchestra has been formed, chiefly from the members of the University, to play this work with the choir. The Cantata begins with a magnificent chorus in typical Bach style, with fluid passages for all parts intertwining one with another. This is followed by an air for bass and the very well known chorale, "Now Thank We All Our God". A recitative and duet for soprano and bass provide a contrast to this and the final chorale.

Despite the fact that third term is upon us, we are hoping for a good audience at University House for the concert. Tickets are available at the Union Shop or from your friendly SCUNA member at 80c. for students.

**join us or forget it  
man**



Ronne Arnold's Contemporary Dance Company performed in the Playhouse from 9 - 11 September.

Igor Moiseyev has most accurately stated, "Ronne's dancing makes music visible". This is what hits you first. He and his company dance to jazz rhythms on a level of sophistication that most other Australian ballet companies do not comprehend.

The choreography is positive, basic and truthful. As a dance form it is satisfactory because it expresses emotions in an optimistic, unstylized way. The lack of rigidity in movement techniques, contributes to the fluid presentation.

The colour, lighting, costuming and visual patterns of the individual ballets reveal Ronne's talent and training, and as a performer, he personally is charismatic.

The Company cannot, and should not be compared with Ronne, just as one would not compare Dame Margot with her company. The other dancers, lacking precision in some instances, show potential. Imperfections are possibly due to inadequate financial backing, which means that they operate as "part-time" dancers.

The whole performance is exciting and involving, and the company establishes a strong communication with the audience. This leaves one feeling fucking good.

The Company was to have performed a different programme on September 12th which was cancelled due to the strike of theatre employees. They have agreed to return to Canberra on Thursday and Friday, 24th and 25th of September in order to perform this programme.

James Rae.



Honeywell Pty. Ltd., director, G.S. Reichenbach, furthermore, is a director of Television Corporation. This company directly or through subsidiaries operates TCN9 (Sydney) and GTV9 (Melbourne) and publishes the Packer press (Sydney Telegraph, Sunday Telegraph, Bulletin, Australian Women's Weekly).

Dow Chemical Corporation began to produce napalm at its plant in Torrance, California, in 1966. Napalm is now notorious as one of the most horrifying of the weapons used by the US in Vietnam — one of its worst features being its indiscriminate action, its nonselective destruction of civilians. Napalm is a jellylike, inflammable mixture packed into canisters and dropped from planes on observed or suspected enemy targets. The materials are excessively simple: 25 per cent benzene, 25 per cent gasoline, and 50 per cent polystyrene, (a plastic manufactured by Dow Chemicals and others). This mixture forms a highly incendiary jelly that clings to the flesh; deep and persistent burns are caused.

Dow is also one of the principal makers of 2,4,5-T, a herbicide that has been sprayed over large areas of Indochina, and has recently been shown to have powerful teratogenic (embryo-deforming) effects in rats and mice, and perhaps in man. The defoliation programme being carried out in Vietnam is having disastrous effects upon the ecological balance of the region, and much irreparable damage will be done (See Thomas Whiteside's book, Defoliants.) For this, Dow Chemicals and other manufacturers of herbicides and defoliants, must take the responsibility.

Ted Dillon president of Dow Chemicals wrote in the Wall Street Journal in December 1967:

"Why do we produce napalm? In simplest form, we produce it because we feel our company should produce those items which our fighting men need in time of war when we have the ability to do so.

A quarter of a century ago this answer would have satisfied just about everyone who asked the question. Today, however, it doesn't. Today we find ourselves accused of being immoral because we produce this product for use in what some people consider an unjust war. We are told that to make a weapon because you're asked to do so by your government puts you in precisely the same position as the German industrialists who pleaded at their Nuremberg trials that they were 'only following orders.'

"What of the argument that we are no different from the German industrialists who 'just followed orders'? We reject the validity of comparing our present form of government with Hitler's Nazi Germany. In our mind our government is still representative of and responsive to the will of the people.

"Our critics ask if we are willing to stand judgment for our choice to support our government if history should prove this wrong. Our answer is yes....."

U.S. investment in Australia has been increasing in response to various con-

cessions that the Australian Government has been offering. The American Chamber of Commerce announced recently that US companies in 1970 would invest \$358 million in manufacturing plant and equipment, representing a 34% increase over the 1968 figure. This does not include \$151 million in the petroleum industry in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands, Oceania (Australia, New Zealand, Indonesia and the South Pacific islands) is the fastest growing area for US investment. In 1968 an estimated \$990 million was invested in the area and by 1971 this will rise to \$2,060 million.

One significant feature of US investment in Australia is that many of the big defence contractors are involved. These include:

- General Electric
- General Motors
- Sperry-Rand
- Martin Marietta
- Kaiser Industries (which owns half of Conzinc Riotinto of Australia, notorious for its Bougainville exploits)
- Ford
- Honeywell
- Olin Mathieson
- Standard Oil (N.T.)
- R.C.A.
- Westinghouse
- IBM

Australia is not, however, a helpless victim of war-mongering US big business interests; it is an active participant. The Australian Govt. is encouraging Australian industry to enter into the line of production that earned for American defence contractors between 1962 and 1965 a net profit of 17.5%, when companies of similar size doing business in the commercial markets earned only 10.6% profit.

The Government runs a number of courses to help businessmen get war contracts. In February, 28 senior representatives of Victorian industry, the armed services and Government departments began a nine-month part-time course on problems connected with industrial support for war production.

Mr Fraser said the Government attached a great deal of importance to these industrial mobilisation courses, because they maintained close co-operation between Australian industry and the armed services.

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To encourage Australian firms to break into the US defence sub-contracting business, the Government sent a mission of senior industrialists to the USA in 1969. It was led by Sir Ian McLennan, the Managing Director of BHP, and Chairman of the Defence(Industrial) Committee.

On the basis of its report, an inter-departmental committee has been established, comprising the Departments of Defence, Supply, and Trade and Industry. This committee's function is to co-ordinate various efforts of the government to facilitate a flow of war contracts into Australia.

As the example of Bougainville showed, Australian big business is already exploiting the people of Papua - New Guinea. Will we also see an Australian Honeywell, or Australian Dow?

### A.N.U. STUDENT'S ASSOCIATION

Election of President.

Nominations are hereby called for the position of:  
President of the A.N.U.S.A.

All nominations must contain the name, signature and faculty of the nominator and seconder and a signed statement by the nominee that he is willing to serve if elected.

Nominations open 9 am Monday 31st August, 1970 and close at 5 pm on Friday the Eighteenth of September (Moratorium Day)

### ORIENTATION WEEK DIRECTOR

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## business

as  
usual:

industry  
and  
war

Honeywell Inc. of Minnesota is known as a heating-control and computer company. But, as well as these activities, it is one of USA's top 20 "defence" contractors, including research connected with chemical and biological warfare and production of parts for some of the most ghastly anti-personnel weapons being used in Vietnam: weapons designed not for use against "hard" targets but to rip human flesh and human bones.

Weapons for which Honeywell Inc. produces parts include fragmenting CBU (cluster bomb units), which spray death and maiming by myriad small steel balls.

A writer in the New York Review has said: "CBUs have created a need for drastic new surgical techniques. Because there is neither time nor facilities for X-rays, a CBU victim, it hit in the stomach, is simply slit from the top of the stomach to the bottom and the contents of the stomach empties out on a table and fingered through for 'frags' as a dog is worked over for ticks.

"When the sorting is done, the entrails are replaced and the stomach sewed back up like a football. This 'football scar' has become the true badge of misery in South Vietnam....."

## Commonwealth University Scholarships

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# WORONI

## as others see us...

### Australia's Stone-Age Colony

Two frontier events on the fringe of Asia will affect our future. Neither has anything to do with the Sino-Russian clash. One is the hesitant but much-publicised withdrawal of the Americans from Vietnam. The other has received no more than passing mention. It is the final arrival of the Suharto Republic of Indonesia at the threshold of Australia.

When the West Irian referendum took place last August it was apostrophised in neighbouring Papua New Guinea as an 'act of free choice' which was 'a fraud and a sham'. The words were those of a white member of the Port Moresby House of Assembly, the Rev. Percy Chatterton, writing in the *Pacific Island Monthly*. The island of New Guinea, with its 455 miles of land frontier between West Irian, the former Dutch New Guinea, and Papua New Guinea, can hardly be described as pacific in the circumstances. Atrocity stories abounded that month, regarding the treatment of members of the Free Papua Movement within the new province of Indonesia, the severteenth, and were only exceeded by the rumours of pursuits across the unfenced and unpoliced border and of jungle fighting between Indonesian forces who had crossed into Australian territory 'by mistake' and groups of local inhabitants, who have grown unaccustomed to hostile invaders.

Certainly refugee camps were set up by the administration, and there were public protests about the official reluctance to grant citizenship rights automatically to those who had fled from the new regime, their campaign for independence from Jakarta having failed. Two former members of the West Irian provincial assembly, who crossed the border as early as last May, were refused travel documents by the Australian authorities. They needed them to take their 'proof' of Indonesian 'atrocities' to the United Nations. Despite support from individual members of the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly, the Australian government refused to intervene, seeking a breathing space which might allow some agreement with its new and powerful neighbour.

New Guinea, therefore, is on its guard for in a military sense it is far from strong. The population of about 2,250,000 contains no more than 35,000 Australians, mostly in the smallish urban centres of Moresby, the capital, Lae, Madang, Wewak and a few others such as the growing township of Mount Hagen in the Western Highlands. As a precaution against 'undesirable' immigrants and the possibility now stronger than ever, that non-indigenous residents might become a charge on the territorial administration (meaning refugees from over the border) there is a strict system of visas and entry permits which applies to Australians, citizens of the Commonwealth and residents leaving and returning. The first surprise for a British visitor to the Territory is to be asked in Australian English for an entry permit or visa, unless he has been warned by the airline or shipping line in advance. There is a feeling of a country under pressure, and the pressure is not only external.

Take the matter of race relations, in which the Australian is not well versed at home. The aboriginal is a dying minority and no danger. The Niuginian, to use the local slang spelling, is much more of a problem, speaking 700 languages, living isolated in the rain forest, drifting to the towns for work and falling into dire poverty, and still primitive to the point where violence and killing are, if not fun, nothing to be upset about. Recently the Port Moresby authorities had to confiscate a smoked baby from the Koki market, where it was on display among the smoked fruit-bats and opossums; it had

been stillborn and its destitute parents thought it too valuable to waste.

Anyone who feels shocked at that should know that it is a mere handful of years since some of the mountain tribes gave up cannibalism, a dietary habit forced upon them by the almost complete absence of animal or any other protein in their food, which consists mainly of sago palm taro root and similar starchy vegetables, with occasional scraps of meat from the rare small animals and birds of the jungle. The old cannibal habits, probably the last surviving in the world, were mundane to the point of eating dead relatives who had succumbed to natural causes, and there were more than enough of both. To the Australians working in the territory, and a large number of them stay only a few years, such sordid matters are superficially the subject of jokes, but behind the laughter lies a tinge of uneasiness.

For three years, until it was put out of business this autumn, the territory has sustained a weekly journal called *Black and White* circulation 4,000, claimed readership 16,000 and therefore supposedly reaching about half the white population. It would hardly be read by natives, called indigenes officially, Kanakas vulgarly, because it was in English and not in pidgin. The magazine claimed to reflect the ideas and opinions of 'the majority of expatriate people of this territory', and lamented its own decease as being brought about by the addition of 'an eleventh Commandment to the Good Book here: "Thou Shalt Not Criticise Thy Neighbour, especially if He's Black"'. The journal had been repeatedly censured in the mixed House of Assembly (where it is necessary to have three language translations - English, pidgin and Police Motu, a Papuan dialect used island-wide by the police) for being 'threatening provocative or offensive to people of other races and tribes.' Certainly the last issue bristled with colour prejudice, comparing indigenes with monkeys emphasising their stupidity and the hopelessness of giving them responsible work, but also knocking public service inefficiency in the hands of whites, while attributing most shortcomings to the need to employ natives.

At the root of the backwardness of the natives, which is no myth, lie the still rudimentary educational system and the expediency which led to the use of pidgin as the common language. The two groups of schools, administration and missionary, handle 250,000 primary pupils sometimes in a vernacular, sometimes in pidgin. The secondary schools, about 60 in all, receive less than 10,000 pupils of whom about 1,000 go on to train as teachers themselves. Out of an indigenous population of well over 2 million fewer than 100,000 are registered as having jobs; half these are listed as 'casual', a quarter are in government employment.

The House of Assembly is small and unrepresentative, for it was necessary in its first two elections, 1964 and 1968, to restrict the electoral roll, because at least 1,500,000 natives were considered to be 'so close' to tribal life that the chances of any European being elected were remote (thus the *Handbook of Papua and New Guinea* for 1966). Furthermore, 'advanced' natives believed, or were said to believe, that it was desirable for Europeans to be represented in the House because they, the natives, did not feel that they could operate the system on their own. To make sure that even an assembly so loaded with appointed and specially elected Europeans (about a third of the 64 members) could not make policy that might run counter to Canberra, it is provided that its legislation can only have the force of law in the Territory on the

agreement of the Administrator or of the Governor-General of Australia.

The fear remains, as expressed in *Black and White* and on occasion by the *Post-Courier*, the Moresby daily paper, barred this summer from the press gallery by the sensitive house, that the Territory is being expected to run on its own before it has properly learned to walk. True, it can depend on the protection of Australia even after independence, if only on strategic grounds. At present, however, it is both a subordinate territory under the Canberra Ministry for External Territories and an economic dependence of Australia. Its main industries are linked to tropical agriculture, notably copra, cocoa, coffee, rubber and timber (a newish development that has replaced gold mining around Bulolo). The World Bank mission in 1963 issued a cautious report recommending the expansion of primary industries, including the recent establishment of tea and pyrethrum, the continued participation of European interests in the Territory (meaning Australian) and underlining the need for Australian government finance on an increasing scale. It held out small hope of significant economic growth for 10 or more years (significant in the sense of giving the Territory the strength to be truly independent), but suggested that one necessary step towards it would be the setting up of secondary industries. The administration has since, with Canberra's blessing, endeavoured to persuade risk capital into manufacturing units by the granting of tax holidays lasting six years, but in 1965-6 succeeded in attracting only \$A1,500,000.

A list of the types of industry, therefore, includes such activities as copra crushing mills, passion-fruit pulping, brewing, tobacco and ship's biscuits. Lately there have been developments in the direction of metal manufacture - barbed wire, containers and refrigerator assembly - and chemicals - paint, industrial gases and storage batteries. There are plans for the expansion of an even wider range of industrial ventures, including building materials and clothing, but the scale is still on the small side and very much under the domination of Australian business interests.

Like so many developing countries the Territory has looked to tourism as a foreign exchange earner, but most of the visitors are from Australia although there is an increasing trickle from the United States. The American traveller looks upon New Guinea as 'the last place on earth', that is the last place where he can still observe mankind as it might have been in the Stone Age. It is 10 years since Heinrich Harrer discovered the source of the stone axes (usually known as 'Hagen axes' because that is where most of them are sold to the tourists during the biannual Western Highlands District Agricultural Show at Mount Hagen). He explored western New Guinea, then just passing out of Dutch hands, but the way of life of the Danis he met was little different from that of the tribes along the Fly River and the Sepik, and it has changed remarkably little even under the pressures of the changed regime.

To bring some kind of discipline to the tribes in their remote and scattered villages in the rain forests and mountains the administration maintains a corps of patrol officers, known as *kiaps* in pidgin. These are dedicated men, who tend to look on their work as protecting the tribes from the corrupting influences of modern life. Now that the Hagen show has had its fifth staging, complete with 'sing sing' by 50,000 natives in warpaint and bird of paradise headdresses, and there is another at Goroka for the Eastern Highlands in the intervening years, the taint of money has become stronger. Nowadays when a

tourist points his camera at a Chimbu or an Asaro mudman he is likely to be asked for money. The *kiaps* object to this as a sign that their simple people are sliding into undignified exploitation of their noble savagery. Indeed, there is a suspicion that the noble savagery is verging on the artificial in the case of some tribes or clans and that in a few years 'sing sings' will become spectacles put on entirely for the benefit of tourists and television camera teams (there were at least five at the Hagen show this year), instead of the spontaneous rallies they used to be.

If this does happen, and it seems to be inevitable, it will mean that the tribes on the fringe of urban developments (towns is hardly the word, the buildings are so scattered) will dress up and take part and the jungle dwellers will remain aloof. But meanwhile the business world is coming to them, in the shape of licensed crocodile hunters, travel agencies looking for picturesque villages to show off and dealers buying up 'artifacts.' Villages on the Sepik are doing a roaring trade in tools weapons and crude carvings. For a short time they will be genuine, in the sense that the people make them for their own use. But already it is obvious that they have got the message, and are making them for sale.

As the tourist trade grows, this commercialisation of the 'stone age' native is bound to grow, too. He is sheltered at present from the full impact of the sight-seer and souvenir hunter by the absence of roads, except for one bad highway from Madang into the mountains and some networks around the bigger towns. Anyone aiming to get into the jungle has to do it by light aircraft and river boat, or on foot with a guide, a bush-knife and a pack. It will be many years before the Territory can afford to invest in surfaced roads much beyond their present limits, which is why the air services are so overloaded. In short, the possibility of the majority of the indigenous population attaining experience and education that would be compatible with independence and democracy is remote.

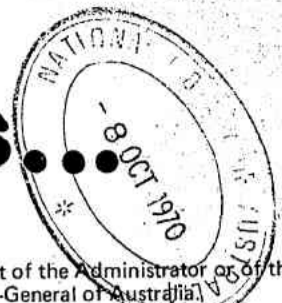
The truth is that the New Guinea native is going to get, is getting already, the worst of both worlds. If he stays in the wilderness, living his hard and hungry life in the old way, he will eventually succumb to the temptation to alleviate it by cashing in on his traditions, even when they have dwindled into the making of fake ritual masks and weapons or the staging of half-hearted dances. If he drifts to the towns he will probably end up in a slum shanty settlement like Koki or Hanuabada outside Moresby, subsisting on a pitiful wage for casual work or on what he can beg or steal. He would be better off in the forest, but he does not believe it because he can see with his own eyes the villas and motor cars of the white man (for whom the pidgin word is *masta*).

If the Indonesians were to succeed in creating the impression that life on the other side of the 141st meridian has more to offer the Melanesian than life in the Territory of Papua New Guinea, independence could become a real issue for the backwoods tribesman. No wonder the *mastas* are uneasy.

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